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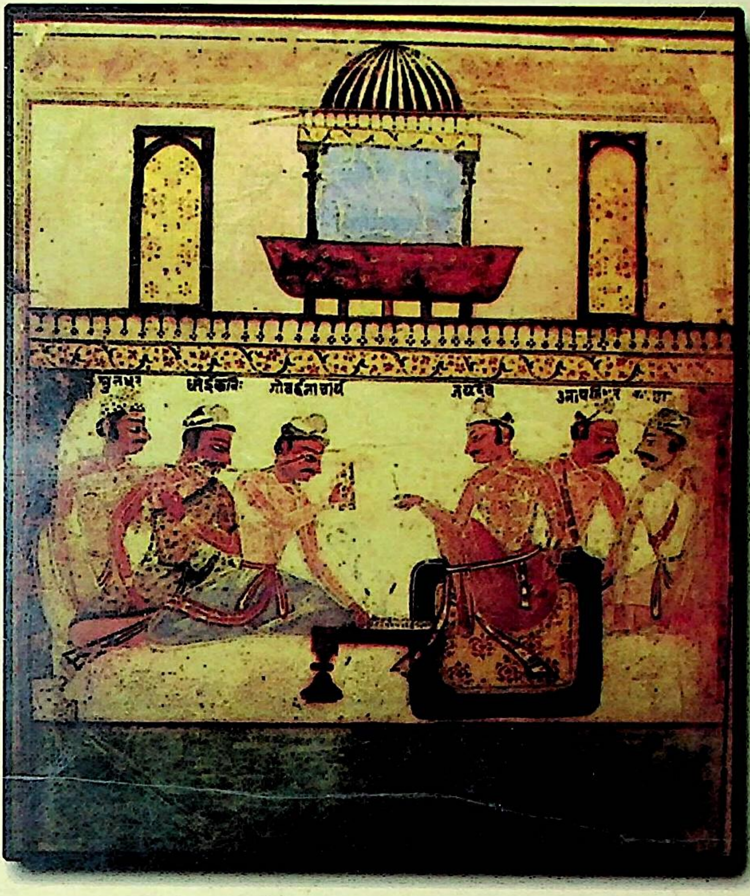

দি এশিয়াটিক সোসাইটি
কলকাতা-৭০০ ০১৬

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দি এশিয়াটিক সোসাইটি
১ পার্ক স্ট্রিট • কলকাতা ৭০০ ০১৬

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GITAGOVINDA AND INDIAN CULTURE

International Seminar
on
GITAGOVINDA AS A SOURCE & INSPIRATION OF LITERATURE AND PLASTIC ARTS OF INDIA

17 & 18 March 2004

The Asiatic Society
1 Park Street • Kolkata 700 016

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সূচিপত্র / CONTENTS

মুখবন্ধ

নান্দীমুখ : গীতগোবিন্দ থেকে অনূদিত ৯/9

Gitagóvinda : or, The Songs of Jayadéva.
Sir William Jones ১১/11

উপমা জয়দেবস্য
করুণাসিন্ধু দাস ১৪/14

On the Character of Jayadeva's Gītagovinda
Manabendu Banerjee ১৯/19

Gitagovinda and Indian Cultural Prism
Mahua Mukherjee ৩৮/38

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মুখবন্ধ

দি এশিয়াটিক সোসাইটির উদ্যোগে কবি জয়দেবের 'গীতগোবিন্দ' কাব্য নিয়ে ১৭-১৮ মার্চ, ২০০৪-এ যে আন্তর্জাতিক আলোচনাচক্র অনুষ্ঠিত হচ্ছে, সেই উপলক্ষেই এই পুস্তিকাটি প্রকাশ করা হল। বিশ্ববিখ্যাত এই সারস্বত প্রতিষ্ঠানের প্রতিষ্ঠাতা-পুরুষ স্যর উইলিয়ম জোন্স স্বয়ং 'গীতগোবিন্দ' কাব্যের অনুবাদ করেছিলেন ইংরাজি ভাষায়—যার সূত্রে সমগ্র পাশ্চাত্ত্য জগতেই প্রাচীন ভারতের এই অনবদ্য সাহিত্যসৃষ্টিটি পরিচিতি লাভ করে। ভারতের শিল্প ও সাহিত্যেও 'গীতগোবিন্দ' কাব্যের একটা প্রগাঢ় প্রভাব রয়েছে, যা আজও বিদ্যমান। সামগ্রিক এই পরিপ্রেক্ষাতেই এ গ্রন্থ প্রকাশিত হল।

কলকাতা
১৫ মার্চ, ২০০৪

দিলীপকুমার ঘোষ
সাধারণ সম্পাদক

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॥ নান্দীমুখ ॥

"সারা আকাশেই মেঘ জমে আছে, তমালের বনে শ্যামল রঙ
এমন রাতেই নিয়ে যারে রাধা, ভীরু দয়িতকে কুঞ্জে তোর—"
(সানন্দে বলে কোনো সখি এসে প্রগাঢ় কণ্ঠে ধনির কানে)
"যমুনাতীরের বনবীথিকায় জমুক তোদের গভীর প্রেম!"

মনের দেউলে বাগ্‌দেবী যার আঁকে আল্‌পনা চরণচিহ্নে,
পদ্মাবতীর পায়ের স্পর্শে ধন্য যে-কবি রাজারই মতো—
সেই জয়দেব প্রেমের কাহিনি রচে অবিরাম কবিতাগুচ্ছে।

কানু ও রাধার প্রেমগাথা শুনে মন যদি ভরে স্নিগ্ধ রসে,
লীলাবিলাসের কলাকৌশলে যদি ঘুম ভাঙে কৌতূহলে,
প্রেম-পদাবলী, মধুছন্দে যা জয়দেব কবি শোনাতে চায়—
শোনো প্রাণ ভরে, শোনো কান ভরে, শোনো মন ভরে তবে সে-গান।

কবি উমাপতি বাক্-পল্লবে আকীর্ণ করে শ্রোতার মন,
শরণ কবির দ্রুত-দুরূহতা বিস্ময়ে করে বিমূঢ়বৎ ;
রতিরভসের সঙ্কেতে যিনি কবিতারচনে অমেয়সীমা,
নন চূড়ান্ত সে-গোবর্ধনও তো ; শ্রুতিধর ধোয়ী উপমাহীন।
জয়দেবই শুধু একাকি স্রষ্টা, বাগ্‌শুদ্ধির রাজাধিরাজ॥

(গীতগোবিন্দ □ ১/১-৪)

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GÍTAGÓVINDA : OR, *THE SONGS OF JAYADÉVA*

Sir William Jones

'THE firmament is obscured by clouds; the woodlands are black with *Tamála*-trees; that youth, who roves in the forest, will be fearful in the gloom of night : go, my daughter; bring the wanderer home to my rustick mansion.' Such was the command of NANDA, the fortunate herdsman; and hence arose the love of RÁDHÁ and MÁDHAVA, who sported on the bank of *Yamuná*, or hastened eagerly to the secret bower.

If thy soul be delighted with the remembrance of HERI, or sensible to the raptures of love, listen to the voice of JAYADE'VA, whose notes are both sweet and brilliant. O THOU, who reclinest on the bosom of CAMALÁ ; whose ears flame with gems, and whose locks are embellished with sylvan flowers; thou, from whom the day star derived his effulgence, who flewest the venom-breathing CÁLIYA, who beamedst, like a sun, on the tribe of YADU, that flourished like a lotos; thou, who sittest on the plumage of GARURA, who, by subduing demons, gavest exquisite joy to the assembly of immortals; thou, for whom the daughter of JANACA was decked in gay apparel, by whom DU'SHANA was overthrown; thou, whose eye sparkles like the water-lily, who calledst three worlds into existence; thou, by whom the rocks of *Mandar* were easily supported, who sippest nectar from the radiant lips of PEDMÁ, as the fluttering *Chacóra* drinks the moon-beams; *be victorious*, O Heri, *lord of conquest*.

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RÁDHÁ sought him long in vain, and her thoughts were confounded by the fever of desire : she roved in the vernal morning among the twining *Vásantis* covered with soft blossoms, when a damsel thus addressed her with youthful hilarity : 'The gale, that has wantoned round the beautiful clove-plants, breathes now from the hills of *Maylaya*; the circling arbours resound with the notes of the *Cócil* and the murmurs of honey-making swarms. Now the hearts of damsels, whose lovers travel at a distance, are pierced with anguish; while the blossoms of *Bacul* are conspicuous among the flowrets covered with bees. The *Tamála*, with leaves dark and odorous, claims a tribute from the musk, which it vanquishes; and the clustering flowers of the *Palása* resemble the nails of CÁMA, with which he rends the hearts of the young. The full-blown *Césara* gleams like the sceptre of the world's monarch, Love; and the pointed thyrse of the *Cétaca* resembles the darts, by which lovers are wounded. See the bunches of *Pátali*-flowers filled with bees, like the quiver of SMARA full of shafts; while the tender blossom of the *Caruna* smiles to fee the whole world laying shame aside. The far-scented *Mádhaví* beautifies the trees, round which it twines; and the fresh *Mallicá* seduces with rich perfume even the hearts of hermits; while the *Amra*-tree with blooming tresses is embraced by the gay creeper *Atimucta*, and the blue streams of *Yamuná* wind round the groves of *Vrindávan. In this charming season, which gives pain to separated lovers, young* HERI *sports and dances with a company of damsels.* A breeze, like the breath of love, from the fragrant flowers of the *Cétaca*, kindles every heart, whilst it perfumes the woods with the dust, which it shakes from the *Mallicá* with half-opened buds; and the *Cócila* bursts into song, when he sees the blossoms glistening on the lovely *Rasála*.'

The jealous RÁDHÁ gave no answer; and, soon after, her officious friend, perceiving the foe of MURÁ in the forest eager for the rapturous embraces of the herdsmen's daughters, with whom he was dancing, thus again addressed his forgotten mistress : 'With a garland of wild flowers

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descending even to the yellow mantle that girds his azure limbs, distinguished by smiling cheeks and by ear-rings, that sparkle, as he plays, HERI *exults in the assemblage of amorous damsels.* One of them presses him with her swelling breast while she warbles with exquisite melody. Another, affected by a glance from his eye, stands, meditating on the lotos of his face. A third, on pretence of whispering a secret in his ear, approaches his temples, and kisses them with ardour. One seizes his mantle and draws him towards her, pointing to the bower on the banks of *Yamuná,* where elegant *Vanjulas* interweave their branches. He applauds another, who dances in the sportive circle, whilst her bracelets ring, as she beats time with her palms. Now he caresses one, and kisses another, smiling on a third with complacency; and now he chases her, whose beauty has most allured him. ...'

ON *GÍTAGÓVINDA* :

The loves of CRISHNA and RÁDHÁ, or the reciprocal attraction between the divine goodness and the human soul, are told at large in the tenth book of the *Bhágavat,* and are the subject of a little *Pastoral Drama,* entitled *Gítagóvinda* : it was the work of JAYADE'VA, who flourished, it is said, before CÁLIDÁS, and was born, as he tells us himself, in CENDULI, which many believe to be in *Calinga* : but, since there is a town of a similar name in *Berdwan,* the natives of it insist that the finest lyrick poet of *India* was their countryman, and celebrate in honour of him an annual jubilee, passing a whole night in representing his drama, and in singing his beautiful songs. After having translated the *Gítagóvinda* word for word, I reduced my translation to the form, in which it is now exhibited; omitting only those passages, which are too luxuriant and too bold for an *European* taste, and the prefatory ode on the ten incarnations of VISHNU, with which you have been presented on another occasion : the phrases in *Italicks,* are the *burdens* of the several songs; and you may be assured, that not a single image or idea has been added by the translator.

(*From : On The Mystical Poetry of the Persians and Hindus* ◻ Asiatick Researches, Vol. III, 1792)

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উপমা জয়দেবস্য

করুণাসিন্ধু দাস

শুধু ধ্বনিবৈভবঘটিত সঙ্গীত মূর্চ্ছনায় নয়, ভাবচিত্রকল্প নির্মাণের বিচারেও গীতগোবিন্দ অনুপম। শব্দের ইন্দ্রধনুচ্ছটায় এইসব রূপকল্পের গায়ে রংবাহার দ্যুতি এসে লাগে। এখানে দন্তরুচিকৌমুদী নিতান্ত দন্তচ্ছবি নয়, তা বিরহীচিত্তে তিমিরহননের আলোকধারা (হরতি দরতিমিরমতিঘোরম্ ১০।২); শ্রীরাধার চাঁদমুখ দেখে কৃষ্ণের চোখ তৃষিত চাতক হয়ে সেই জ্যোৎস্নার কাঙাল (স্ফুরদধরসীধবে তব বদনচন্দ্রমা রোচয়তি লোচনচকোরম্ ১০।২)। বদনচন্দ্রমা, লোচনচকোর তাই সাধারণ রূপকমাত্র হয়ে থেমে থাকেনি। বিরহিণীর যে সখীসংবাস শত্রুপুরীতে অবস্থান বলে অসহ্য মনে হয়, স্নিগ্ধ বাতাসও লাগে আগুনের মতো, সুধারশ্মি জ্যোৎস্না হয়ে দাঁড়ায় বিষবৎ, কবির চেয়ে বেশি কে তা জানে? (রিপুরিব সখীসংবাসো'য়ং শিখীব হিমানিলো/বিষমিব সুধারশ্মিঃ ৭।৪০)। প্রেমিকের কটাক্ষনিক্ষেপ বাণের মতো মর্মভেদী হতে পারে বলেই তো জয়দেব লেখেন—ভূচাপে নিহিতঃ *কটাক্ষবিশিখো* নির্মাতু মর্মব্যথাম্ (৩।১৪)। ভুরুর ধনুকে, আকর্ণবিস্তৃত টানা চোখের কোণ জ্যা হয়ে অপাঙ্গতরঙ্গিত কটাক্ষবাণ নিক্ষেপ করতে পারে বৈ কি (ভ্রূপল্লবং ধনুরপাঙ্গতরঙ্গিতানি/বাণা গুণঃ শ্রবণপালিরিতি— ৩।১৩)। স্মরগরল, মদনকদনানল, ভবজলধিরত্ন, পদপল্লব, খরনয়নশরঘাত, কুচকুম্ভ, বিম্বাধর ইত্যাদি তো আছেই। পীন স্তনের বর্ণনায় কলসের উপমান সুজ্ঞাত। জয়দেব স্তনকলসের উপমান হিসেবে তালফলের উল্লেখ করে নতুনত্ব এনেছেন। তালফলাদপি গুরুমতিসরসম্। কিং বিফলীকুরুষে কুচকলসম্।। (২।৩)। মুখ ও চোখের সৌন্দর্যবর্ণনায় তো উপমান-সন্ধান ফিরে ফিরেই আসে। যেমন,

অমল *কমলদললোচন* ভবমোচন (১।২১);
দরমুকুলিত*নয়নসরোজম্* (২।১৭);
অনিলতরল*কুবলয়নয়নেন* (৭।৩১); *সরসীরুহলোচন* (৮।২);

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কুবলয়দৃশাং বামঃ কামো নিকামনিরঙ্কুশঃ (৭।৪০);
নীলনলিনশ্রীমোচনং লোচনম্ (১০।১৪)।

সাধারণভাবে পদ্ম, কোথাও নীলপদ্ম, ক্বচিৎ লালপদ্ম এখানে চোখের উপমান। মানভঞ্জনের সময় কৃষ্ণের অনুনয়বচনে নীলপদ্মের মতো রাধার চোখ রক্তপদ্ম হয়ে ওঠার কথা পাচ্ছি। কৃষ্ণকে তার কালো রঙে রঞ্জিত করার আবেদন সেখানে মেলে।

নীলনলিনাভমপি তন্বি তব লোচনং/
ধারয়তি কোকনদরূপম্/
কুসুমশরবাণভাবেন যদি রঞ্জয়সি/কৃষ্ণমিদমেতদনুরূপম্।। (১০।৫)।

আর এক জায়গায় আছে, রাধা সজল নেত্রে ইতস্তত দৃক্‌পাত করছেন প্রিয়সমাগমের আকাঙ্ক্ষায়, মনে হচ্ছে যেন নালভাঙা জলে-ভেজা পদ্ম ছড়িয়ে পড়ছে চতুর্দিকে।

দিশি দিশি কিরতি সজলকণজালম্।
নয়ননলিনমিব বিদলিতনালম্।। (৪।১৪)

পদ্মলোচনের চিরাভ্যস্ত উপমালোকে এ হল জয়দেবের অভিনব সংযোজন। কৃষ্ণের মুখমণ্ডল বর্ণনায় আরও এক ধাপ এগিয়েছেন তিনি যেখানে কৃষ্ণের দুটি চঞ্চল চোখ প্রসঙ্গে তাঁর মন্তব্য—যেন শরতের সরোবরে দুটি ফোটা পদ্মফুলে দুটি খঞ্জনপাখি খেলছে।

স্ফুটকমলোদরখেলিতখঞ্জনযুগমিব শরদি তড়াগম্ (১১।২৭)।
অর্থাৎ মুখমণ্ডল এখানে শারদসরোবর।

মুখের কথাতেও পদ্মের উপমা এসেছে বারংবার। যেমন, বদনকমল পরিশীলন (১১।২৮), বক্ত্রাম্বুজসৌরভম্ (৩।১৫), রাধামুগ্ধমুখারবিন্দমধুপ (৫।২০), বিকসিতসরসিজললিতমুখেন (৭।৩২), মুখকমলমধুপানম্ (১০।২) ইত্যাদি স্থলে। শ্রীরাধার কুপিত মুখে কুটিলভ্রূ রক্তপদ্মের ওপর ভ্রমর বলে মনে হয়েছিল কৃষ্ণের। চিন্তয়ামি তদাননং কুটিল ভ্রূ কোপভরেণ। শোণপদ্মমিবোপরি ভ্রমতাকুলং ভ্রমরেণ ।। (৩।৫) তবে হাত-পায়ের উপমান হতেও পদ্মের অসুবিধা হয়নি। যেমন, করকমলবরে নখমদ্‌ভুতশৃঙ্গম্ (১।৮), স্থলকমলগঞ্জনং...চরণদ্বয়ম্ (১০।৭)। চরণকমল (৮।৫), স্থলজলরুচিকরচরণেন (৭।৩৪)। অন্যদিকে চাঁদও অনেক ক্ষেত্রে মুখের উপমান গণ্য হয়েছে। যেমন, মধুরে রাধামুখেন্দৌ (৩।১৬), বদনমিন্দুসন্দীপনম্ (১০।১৫), বদনসুধানিধিগলিতমমৃতমিব রচয় বচনমনুকূলম্ (১২।৪) ইত্যাদি। এক জায়গায় কবি বলছেন, বিরহিণী রাধার মুখপদ্ম যেন চাঁদ, তাঁর অশ্রু যেন রাহুগ্রস্ত চাঁদের থেকে ঝরে পড়া অমৃতধারা। বহতি চ...আননকমলমুদারম্। বিধুমিব বিকটবিধুন্তুদদন্তদলনগলিতামৃতধারম্।। (৪।৫) । চাঁদ অবশ্য কৃষ্ণের কপালে চন্দনের ফোঁটার উপমানও বটে।

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জলদপটলচলদিন্দুবিনিন্দকচন্দনতিলকললাটম্ (২।৬);
শশিকিরণচ্ছুরিতোদরজলধরসুন্দরসকুসুমকেশম্।
তিমিরোদিতবিধুমণ্ডলনির্মলমলয়জতিলকনিবেশম্॥ (১১।২৯)

অর্থাৎ কৃষ্ণের কালো চুলে সাদা ফুল যেন কালো মেঘে বিচ্ছুরিত জ্যোৎস্না, আর, কপালের চন্দনতিলক যেন অন্ধকারে উদিত চন্দ্রমণ্ডল। চাঁদের বর্ণনাতেও স্বাভাবিকভাবে ফিরে এসেছে চন্দনবিন্দুর কথা। বৃন্দাবনের আকাশে দিক্‌সুন্দরীর মুখমণ্ডলে চন্দনের ফোঁটা হয়ে চাঁদের অভ্যুদয় ঘটেছিল বর্ণনা করেছেন জয়দেব—

বৃন্দাবনান্তরমদীপয়দ্ অংশুজালৈর্দিক্‌সুন্দরীবদনচন্দনবিন্দুরিন্দুঃ (৭।১)।

অন্ধকারের নীল রঙ বুঝি কৃষ্ণৈকতান কবিকে সম্মুগ্ধ করেছিল। কোথাও তার তুলনা নীল বসনের সঙ্গে (ধ্বান্তং নীলনিচোলচারু ১১।১১), কোথাও আবার তমালদলের সঙ্গে (এতত্তমালদলনীলতমং তমিস্রম্ ১১।১২)। অভিসারিকাদের চোখে কাজল, কানে তমালপল্লব, মাথায় শ্যামসরোজদাম—গাঢ় অন্ধকার তাদের সারা শরীর জুড়ে লিপ্ত হয় বুঝি (১১।১১)। কালিদাসেরও পূর্ববর্তী নাট্যকার ভাসের লেখায় আকাশ থেকে কাজলবৃষ্টি আর গায়ে অন্ধকার লেপে যাওয়ার যে বর্ণনা আছে (লিম্পতীব তমো'ঙ্গানি বর্ষতীবাঞ্জনং নভঃ), এ তারই সার্থক অনুবর্তন। কজ্জলমলিন নেত্র চুম্বন করায় কৃষ্ণের অরুণাভ ওষ্ঠাধরের কৃষ্ণবর্ণ ধারণের কথাও রাধার মুখ দিয়ে বলেছেন জয়দেব। কজ্জলমলিনবিলোচনচুম্বনবিরচিতনীলিমরূপম্ / দশনবসনমরুণং তব কৃষ্ণ তনোতি তনোরনুরূপম্॥ (৮।৩)। ক্ষোভে অভিমানে শ্রীমতী একবার এও বলতে ছাড়েননি—কৃষ্ণের বাইরের রূপ যত মলিন, অন্তর তারও বেশি মলিন (বহিরিব মলিনতরং তব কৃষ্ণ মনো'পি ভবিষ্যতি নূনম্। ৮।৭) ঘনমেঘতুল্য অন্ধকারকে কৃষ্ণ ভেবে আলিঙ্গন ও চুম্বন তাই স্বাভাবিক। শ্লিষ্যতি চুম্বতি জলধরকল্পম্। হরিরুপগত ইতি তিমিরমনল্পম্॥ (৬।৭) গীতগোবিন্দের কবি কৃষ্ণের শ্যাম-দেহে শ্বেতবস্ত্রের বর্ণবৈপরীত্য বর্ণনায় নীলপদ্মে পীতপরাগের বেষ্টনের কথাও স্মরণ করেছেন।

শ্যামলমৃদুলকলেবরমণ্ডলম্ অধিগতগৌরদুকূলম্।
নীলনলিনমিব পীতপরাগপটলভরবলয়িতমূলম্॥ (১১।২৬)

গলার অমল মুক্তাহার দেখে মনে হয় যেন যমুনার নীলজলে সাদা ফেনপুঞ্জের শোভা। হারমমলতরতারমুরসি দধতং পরিলম্ব্য বিদূরম্। স্ফুটতরফেনকদম্বকরম্বিতমিব যমুনাজলপূরম্॥ (১১।২৫)।

অথবা কৃষ্ণ যেন চঞ্চল বলাকাপঙ্‌ক্তিশোভিত মেঘ—আর তার বুকে লগ্ন শ্রীরাধা যেন স্থির সৌদামিনী!

উরসি মুরারেরুপহিতহারে ঘন ইব তরলবলাকে।
তড়িদিব পীতে রতিবিপরীতে রাজসি সুকৃতবিপাকে॥ (৫।১২)। আবার,

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কৃষ্ণের ময়ূরপুচ্ছমণ্ডিত কেশদাম কবির চোখে ইন্দ্রধনুমণ্ডিত মেঘ (২।৩)। অন্ধকার, চাঁদ, মেঘ, বিদ্যুৎ, নীলজল, সাদা ফেনপুঞ্জের বলাকা, বর্ণবৈচিত্র্যে রাধামাধবের রূপচিত্রণে কবির সৌন্দর্যদর্শন এভাবেই বুঝি সার্থকতা পেয়েছে গীতগোবিন্দে।

চাঁদ আর সমুদ্রের সম্পর্কও বহুযুগ ধরে আলোড়িত করেছে কবিদের। কুমারসম্ভব মহাকাব্যের ধ্যানমগ্ন শিব 'চন্দ্রোদয়ে ইবাম্বুরাশিঃ' উমার চাঁদমুখের উপস্থিতিতে 'কিঞ্চিৎপরিলুপ্তধৈর্যঃ' হয়ে 'উমামুখে বিম্বফলাধরোষ্ঠে ব্যাপারয়ামাস বিলোচনানি।' গীতগোবিন্দেও উপমান হিসাবে চাঁদ-সমুদ্রের প্রভাবপ্রসঙ্গটি এসেছে একাধিকবার। মুগ্ধমধুসূদন রাধার মধুর মুখেন্দুসন্দর্শনে চঞ্চল হয়ে ওঠায় তাঁর কটাক্ষের ঊর্মিমালা মৃদুস্পন্দে আন্দোলিত হয়েছিল, বলেছেন কবি।

সম্মুগ্ধং মধুসূদনস্য মধুরে রাধামুখেন্দৌ মৃদু-
স্পন্দং কন্দলিতাশ্চিরং দধতু বঃ ক্ষেমং কটাক্ষোর্ময়ঃ॥ (৩।১৬)।

আর একবার মানভঞ্জনের পর গোবিন্দের দিকে সতৃষ্ণ দৃষ্টিপাত করে নূপুরশিঞ্জন তুলে রাধা যখন কুটিরে এলেন, তাঁকে দেখে প্রতীক্ষারত কৃষ্ণের উদ্দাম প্রেমাবেগে জয়দেব সমুদ্রের উত্তাল তরঙ্গসংক্ষোভ প্রত্যক্ষ করেছেন।

রাধাবদনবিলোকনবিকসিতাবিবিধবিকারবিভঙ্গং
জলনিধিমিব বিধুমণ্ডলদর্শনতরলিততুঙ্গতরঙ্গম্। (১১।২৪)

আকাশ থেকে সাগর এইভাবে সুন্দরের পরতে পরতে সর্বত্র রাধাকৃষ্ণবিগ্রহের অবয়ব সন্দর্শন গীতগোবিন্দের কবির পক্ষেই সম্ভব। তাঁর অনুভবে প্রকৃতির রূপলোকে 'শৃঙ্গারঃ সখি মূর্তিমান্ ইব মধৌ মুগ্ধো হরিঃ ক্রীড়তি' (১।৪৮)। কবি যথার্থই জানেন— তাঁর বর্ণনাগুণে কৃষ্ণের ভূষণভার দ্বিগুণ হয়েছে। শ্রীজয়দেবভণিতবিভবদ্বিগুণীকৃত-ভূষণভারম্ (১১।৩৯)। রাধার রূপবর্ণনায় তিনিই বলতে পারেন—

বন্ধুকদ্যুতিবান্ধবো'য়মধরঃ স্নিগ্ধো মধুকচ্ছবি-
গণ্ডে চণ্ডি চকাস্তি নীলনলিনশ্রীমোচনং লোচনম্।
নাসাভ্যেতি তিলপ্রসূনপদবীং কুন্দাভদন্তি প্রিয়ে
প্রায়স্ত্বন্মুখসেবয়া বিজয়তে বিশ্বং স পুষ্পায়ুধঃ॥ (১০।১৪)

শ্রীমতীর এহেন সর্বাঙ্গে স্বর্গললনাদের সমবেত উপস্থিতি তো খুবই সম্ভব। অহো বিবুধযৌবতং বহসি তন্বি পৃথ্বীগতা (১০।১৫)।

জয়দেবের রাধামাধব এইভাবে নিসর্গলোকের আভূষণে-মণ্ডণে-উপাদানে গড়া নিসর্গেরই অন্তরাত্মা যেন। রাধার মনোভাব বাম হলে তাই সূর্য যায় অস্তাচলে, গোবিন্দের মনোবাঞ্ছা ম্লান হলে নেমে আসে নিবিড় অন্ধকার। ত্বদ্‌বাম্যেন সমং সমগ্রমধুনা তিগ্মাংশুরস্তংগতো গোবিন্দস্য মনোরথেন চ সমং প্রাপ্তং তমঃ সান্দ্রতাম্। (৫।১৭)। কবিসমুচিত কারণ নির্দেশের এই রীতিটি গীতগোবিন্দে মাঝে মাঝেই মেলে।

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যেমন, অতিবিষম মদনবাণ বলেই তো ফুলের মালা হৃদয়ঘাতিনী হয়ে ওঠে (স্রগপি হৃদি হন্তি মাম্ অতিবিষমশীলয়া। ৭।৮)। কৃষ্ণের মন কৃষ্ণতর নাহলে কি কামাহত অনুরাগিণীকে কষ্ট দেওয়া তাঁর পক্ষে সম্ভব হত (কথমথ বঞ্চয়সে জনম্ অনুগতম্ অসমশরজ্বরদূনম্।। ৮।৭)?

বিপরীত প্রসঙ্গ বিন্যাস করে বিরোধাভাস ইত্যাদি মণ্ডণকলাও গীতগোবিন্দের সম্পদ্। কৃষ্ণের কথা ভাবলে সখীসান্নিধ্যও শত্রুসহবাস মনে হয়, শীতল বাতাস লাগে আগুনের মতো, চাঁদ বুঝি তখন বিষবৎ—অথচ সেই নির্দয় দয়িতের দিকে রাধার হৃদয় সবেগে ধাবিত হলে কবির নির্ণয়—বামঃ কামো নিকামনিরঙ্কুশঃ (৭।৪০)। এবং মানময়ী রাধার উদ্দেশ্যে সখীর মন্তব্য—অনুরাগী দয়িতের প্রতি বিমুখ বলেই রাধার কাছে চাঁদ সূর্যবৎ তীব্র এবং যা কিছু রমণীয় সব কষ্টকর।

স্নিগ্ধে যৎ পরুষাসি যৎ প্রণমতি স্তব্ধাসি যদ্ রাগিণি
দ্বেষং যাসি যদুন্মুখে বিমুখতাং যাতাসি তস্মিন্ প্রিয়ে।
তদ্ যুক্তং বিপরীতকারিণি তব শ্রীখণ্ডচর্চা বিষং
শীতাংশুস্তপনো হিমং হুতবহঃ ক্রীড়ামুদো যাতনাঃ ।। (৯।১০)।

অভিনব কবিবক্রোক্তি ছাড়া একে কি বলব!

সহজসুন্দর, বিচিত্র শব্দালঙ্কারের অবিরল অজস্র তরঙ্গভঙ্গ বোধ করি ক্লান্ত ক্লান্ত করে থাকবে একালে আমাদের কেজো মানুষদের বুদ্ধিনির্ভর সাহিত্য-বিচারবোধকে। 'গীতগোবিন্দে গীতও নাই গোবিন্দও নাই' কথাটা এই ক্লান্তির বিষণ্ণ অঙ্গীকার ছাড়া আর কি? কালের প্রভেদে, রুচীনাং বৈচিত্র্যাৎ ঋজুকুটিলনানাপথজুষাং রসিকজনের ধারণা ও প্রত্যাশাভেদে, ব্যতিব্যস্ততায় জয়দেবসরস্বতীর কাছে আমাদের কারও কারও দাবি কিঞ্চিৎ কঠোর শোনাচ্ছে বৈকি! 'ধানের ক্ষেতে বেগুন খুঁজিতে গিয়া...ধানকে শস্যই গণ্য করেন না' এতবড় স্পর্ধাবচন না হয় নাই বললাম, তাই বলে জয়দেবের কৃতির ভাণ্ডারে শূন্যদর্শন শিরসি মা লিখ! নরসিংহমূর্তির করকমলবরে নখমদ্ভুতশৃঙ্গম্ রুচিপীড়া যদি ঘটিয়েই থাকে, তবু আমাদের সবিনয় নিবেদন—একো হি দোষো গুণসন্নিপাতে নিমজ্জতীন্দোঃ কিরণেষ্বিবাঙ্কঃ। চাঁদের কলঙ্কও তো মানি আমরা। সুন্দর মুখ শ্বিত্রেণৈকেন দুর্ভগম্ বলে নিন্দামন্দ নাই বা করলাম। বস্তুত কবির প্রত্যাশা অনুযায়ী হরিস্মরণে সরসং মনঃ, বিলাসকলাসু কুতূহলম্ থাকলে তো সোনায় সোহাগা, তা যদি নাও থাকে, বাক্‌শিল্পসিদ্ধি ও রসচর্বণা বিচারে আধুনিক রসিকচিত্তের কাছেও গীতগোবিন্দ 'শুভদং সুখদং ভবসারম্।'

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ON THE CHARACTER OF JAYADEVA'S GĪTAGOVINDA

Manabendu Banerjee

The *Gītagovinda (G.G.)* of the reputed Bengalee poet, Jayadeva, composed during the last quarter of the 12th century A. D., is a love poem which is often regarded by some as a great religious work on mediaeval Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.The erotic emotionalism, treated in this treatise, was one of the chief sources of religious impetus for the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas headed by lord Caitanya, the great religious reformer of Bengal, during the first part of 16th century A. D. It has stated by the learned biographer of Caitanya, Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirājā , author of the famous Bengali work, *Caitanya-Caritāmṛta,* that Caitanya was very much fond of hearing the recitation of the G.G. and also the *Kṛṣṇa-Karṇāmṛta* of Līlāśuka.[1] The Bengal Vaiṣṇavas generally regard the work of Jayadeva as more an authoritative religious text than a poetical work of uncommon beauty.

The source of the *G.G.* is not known accurately. But it may be assumed that the trend of Kṛṣṇa-worship, prevalent in Bengal before the advent of Jayadeva, has been given a finished literary form in this work. It should not, however, be proper to adjudicate this work only in the perspective of the *Vaiṣṇava-Bhakti-Rasa-Śāstra* and think its author to be an orthodox Vaiṣṇava evangelist. Those who like to explain the G.G. in the light of the Vaiṣṇava philosophy of Caitanya school, forget that the poem of Jayadeva was composed about three hundred years before the apprearance of Caitanya as well as before the promulgation of the *Rasa-śāstra* of the Caitanyaite school. Jayadeva's intention was, perhaps, to

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present a beautiful ostentatious poem with a subordinate stress on the religious motive, and as in his age the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa episode was a favourite topic, he also selected it for its catchy theme. R. W. Frazer also admits. "There is no direct evidence that the poem itself was written with any religious purpose. It simply tells of the longings and laments of Rādhā, the favourite of Kṛṣṇa, for her lord and lover."[2] Again, in another place he says, "The Kṛṣṇa of the *Gītagovinda* is now usually taken by all the Vaiṣṇavites as an incarnation of the Divine Essence. In the poem itself there is no direct indication that its object was to found any phase of religion based on the saving grace of a faith in Kṛṣṇa.'[3]

Whatever may be the later interpretations of his work, Jayadeva undoubtedly made up his mind on producing an erotic *kāvya*. It is a poem of purely earthly love. Before and during Jayadeva's time, poems containing passionate eroiticism were composed in *Prākṛta Apabhraṃśa* and in the poetical works of his contemporaneous poets like Govardhana and Dhoyī, erotic sentiment played a prominent part. Majority of verses in the *Kavīndravacana-samuccaya* and *samuccaya Saduktikarṇāmṛta* embedded with *Śṛṅgāra* elements. It is natural that the G.G. being the product of this symptomatic period, reflects the same attitude. But Kṛṣṇa of Bhāgavata and his eternal consort Rādhā, the hero and heroine of Jayadeva's work have been completely humanised by the mastery of his poetic capacity. Jayadeva was indifferent to the religious possibility of the work, for he did not follow the foot-prints of the *Bhāgavata* which avoids direct reference to Rādhā and has given more emphasis on her than on *Kṛṣṇa*. The hero of the G.G. has only a subordinate role to play. While the *Bhāgavata* narrates the amours of Kṛṣṇa during the autum, Jayadeva's work speaks of the vernal sports.[4] The *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* cannot also claim to be the source of Jayadeva, for, the former describes a marriage of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa which is most unsuitable for the theme selected by Jayadeva. It is probable that Jayadeva is indebted, to some extent, to the *Rāsa-pañcādhyāya* included in the 10th Skanda

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of the *Bhāgavata*, as it is indicated from the description of the Rāsalīlā[5] in the *G.G.*

Regarding the type of the G.G., scholars hold different views.[6] Professor Lassen calls it a 'lyrical drama', L. Von Schroeder 'a lyric-dramatic poem' and 'a refined yātrā' and according to William Jones it is 'a pastoral drama' and Pischel thinks it to be a 'melodrama'. A. A. Macdonell notices in the *G.G.* 'the transitional stage between pure lyric and drama' and further remarks that it is "a lyrical drama, which, though dating from twelfth century, is the earliest literary specimen of a primitive type of play that still surives in Bengal, and must have preceded the regular dramas."[7] All these designations indicating that the G.G. is something like a dramatic work, may be partly, but not absolutely, true, for, the essential requisities of a Sanskrit drama are not illustrated here. Though its content rolls through dialogues that are interspersed with narrative stanzas, the names of the speakers are not specifically pointed out, but remain latent in the descriptive verse just before the commencement of the dialogues. Unlike a traditional Sanskrit drama, the G.G. is not divided into acts, and the dramatic elements, such as *sandhi, avasthā, arthaprakṛti* etc. that are required for the development of the plot of a Sanskrit *rūpaka* are difficult to find out here. Moreover, Sanskrit literary critics do not recognise the apparently interesting classifications, such as, 'lyrical drama', 'pastoral drama' etc. denominated by the Western scholars.

The claim for the *G.G.*'s being a refined yātrā cannot also be sustained firstly, due to its want of improvisation and mimatic qualities[8] and secondly, on the obvious ground that the *yātrā*, a sort of open-air dramatic entertainment based principally on the religious festival of rural Bengal, came to be performed in full-fledged form in a much later period than the time of the composition of the G.G. N.K. Chattopadhyaya holds the view[9] that "the well-known Sanskrit idyll called the *Gītagobinda*, by Jayadeva Goswami, which, as has been well observed, is nothing but a sort of

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Yātrā in Sanskrit". But if the nature of the so-called *Yātrā* as observed by Mr. Chattopadhyaya himself,[10] is taken into consideration, it is difficult to believe that a poet of Jayadeva's standing was ever anxious to model his *Kāvya* on this type of performance. The origin of the popular folk drama or *Yātrā* is, perhaps, a remote one, but it was developed several centuries after Jayadeva's appearance. Mr. Chattopadhyaya also maintains, "Indeed, it might be said with justice that the Vaiṣṇava-s laid the foundation-stone, and the Śāktas reared the superstructure of the literature of the period. Thus the language used in the *Yātrā*-s reminds one of the *Caitanya-Bhāgavata* written by a devoted disciple of the Reformer (i.e. Caitanya), called Vṛndāvanadasā in1548 J. C., or that of the *Caitanyacaritāmṛta* written by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja probably between the years 1573-1588 J. C." (pp. 30-31). So the supposed influence of the *Yātrā* on Jayadeva's *G.G.* is difficult to firmly establish.

S. K. Chatterjee, in his *'Origin and Development of Bengali Language'*, has remarked[11] on the *G.G.*, that the language of these songs "is professedly Sanskrit, but in their style and execution, and in their rimed *Mātrā-Vṛtta* metre, they are mere like vernacular than anything else. Scholars suspect that these songs were originally composed in some Prākṛtic speech, which, in this case, would be either Western *Apabhraṁśa* as written in the East, or Old Bengali, both the alternatives being equally likewise." This suggestion[12] and that "a vernacular lyric drama" current in Bengal before Jayadeva is the model of the *G.G.* are mere conjectures and, therefore, not tenable ; there is no definite evidence to justify these statements. It is expected that in a *Yātrā* or a drama, which is to be enacted before a gathering there must be well arranged dialogues leading to the successive development of the plot. But in the *G.G.* there is no well-knitted subject-matter and no dialogue in the true sense of the term, and these two are the most essential elements in a dramatic creation. The *G.G.* contains only three characters, viz., Kṛṣṇa, his beloved Rādhā and a friend of the latter who acts as 'a middle woman'. The

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speeches of these three characters are arranged in the manner of 'lyrical monologue'.[13] These 'dialogues' are individual utterances with the coating of pleasing musical sound. In this respect, the classification of this work as a lyrical piece may be partly supported. It is possible that the *G.G.* is a lyric poem in the original sense of the term, i.e. a poem meant for being sung and that the concept of the term 'lyric' changed later on. But the term 'lyric' actually alludes to the type of poetry which is originally used to be sung with the accompaniment of some musical instruments. According to W. H. Hudson, "the use of 'Lyrical' will be restricted to the simpler forms of the poetry in which, in contradiction to the epic and dramatic kinds, the poet is principally occupied with himself."[14]

Sanskrit literature has not, however, produced any lyric poem in the strict European sense of the term. But if the 'melody of diction', 'the perfection of composition,' 'the ease of the alliteration', and 'the expression of varied emotions' are considered to be the essential qualifications of a lyrical work,[15] the *G.G.* may be placed in the highest position in the field of lyrical literature not only of India, but even of the world. A South Indian recension of the *G.G.* mentions it as *Śṛṅgāra-Mahākāvyam*[16] the term occuring in the colophon at the end of each *Sarga*. But such type of *kāvya* is unknown in Sanskrit literary world and *Śṛṅgāra* or erotic sentiment alone cannot possibly elevate a poetic composition to the status of a *mahākāvya*.

Sanskrit Literature in general, has been defined variously by rhetoricians among whom Daṇḍin, Ānandavardhana, Jagannātha and Viśvanātha lay emphasis on the sublimity of the literary composition. According to Daṇḍin, the body of literature is the string of words conveying ideas intended to be presented.[17] Jagannātha, in his *Rasagaṅgādhara* maintains that a *kāvya* comprises words which carry charming ideas (*ramaṇīyārthapratipādakaḥ śabdaḥ kāvyam*). This charmingness pertains to an idea which produces extra-ordinary pleasure ; this pleasure may be designated as *camatkāratva* which is supposed to be the essence

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of poetry and which can be perceived only by men of literary taste, i.e. *sahṛdayas* possessing high cultural faculty and matured judgement.[18] Viśvanātha, a predecessor of Jagannātha, defines *kāvya* as *vākyaṁrasātmakaṁ kāvyam* which means that a sentence pregnant with *rasa* or sentiment is competent to be a *kāvya*. Without going into the intricacies of these definitions, it may apparently be ascertained that these definitions give stress on the word or the sentence considering it the predominant partner of a *Kāvya*. The sumtotal of these definitions is that in a poetic creation words are wedded to charming meaning. The *G.G.*, if viewed in this perspective, can demand the status of an exceptional piece of poetical creation and the definition of *kāvya* most suited for the *G.G.* is that of the *Dhvanyāloka*, viz., '*sahṛdayāhlādi-śabdā rthamayatvameva kāvyalakṣaṇaṃ*[19] (i.e. combination of words and their senses that gladdens the hearts of connoisseurs is to be treated as the sign of a *kāvya*.), which is similar to some extent, to that of the *Rasagaṅgādhara*.

The prominent aspect of exhilaration the readers gather from the *G.G.* is not its sense but the grandiose display of diction as also well-knitted words which can create a unique jingling sound, meaning, perfectly accompanying the sound, is fully present here, but to us it seems to be of secondary importance. Again, in the *G.G.*, the expressions combined with *rasa* appear to be the standpoint from which the standard of a poetic composition can be judged ; next to the splendour of diction, Jayadeva's work displays full development of the *Śṛṅgāra* sentiment, it being the soul of his poetry. "And it is this rare blending of *Rasa*, *Śabda* and *Artha* that endows the *Gītagovinda Kāvya* with an abiding splendour"[20]

Jayadeva's poetry, while dealing with the love-episode of Rādha and Kṛṣṇa, is diffused with continual erotic elements. The poet has laid emphasis on the term *Śṛṅgāra* to make the readers alert about the nature of his work. This nature is clearly exposed when Rādhā's friend narrates :—

viśveṣām anurañjanena janayan ānandam indīvara-
śreṇiśyāmalakomalair upanayannaṅgair aṅgotsavam

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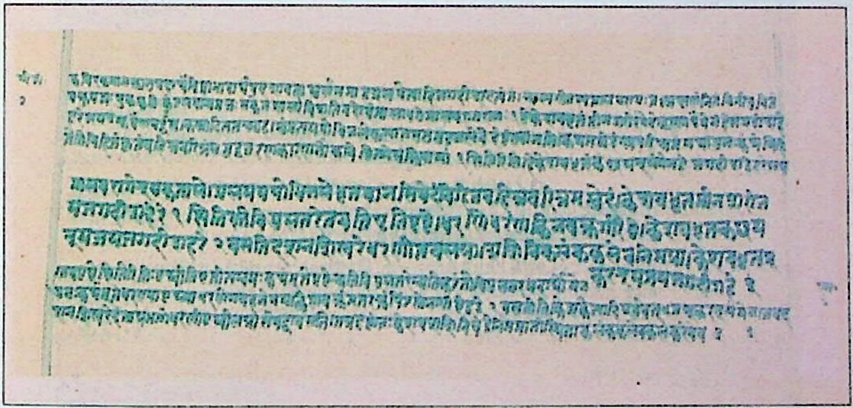
Viṣṇu Paṭṭa - Daśāvatāra sculpture, Pala - Sena Period
Courtesy - Maldah Museum



Bālabodhināmnī Gītagovindaṭīkā, Mūlasahita
Script Nāgarī
Folio—3a
Pralayapayodhi jale dhṛtavānasi Vedam
vihitavahitra caritramakhedam

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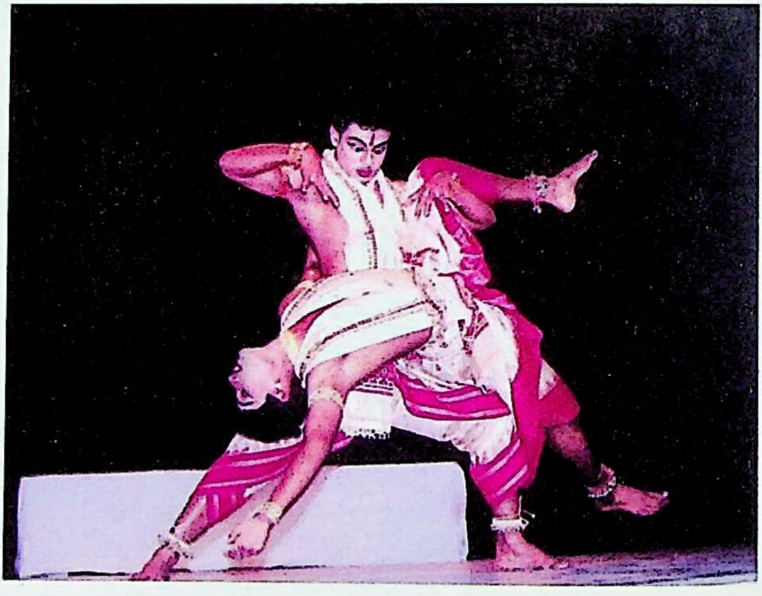
Gouḍīya Dance : Jayadeva's Daśāvatāra Stotra (Kūrmāvatāra)



Gouḍīya Dance: Jayadeva's Daśāvatāra Stotra (Nṛsiṁha-avatāra)

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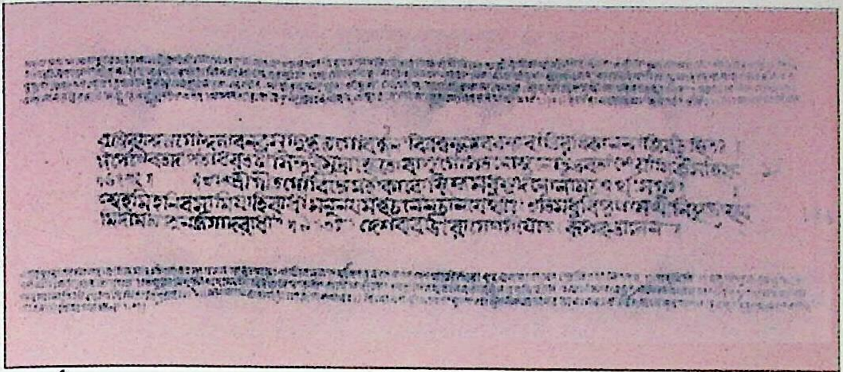
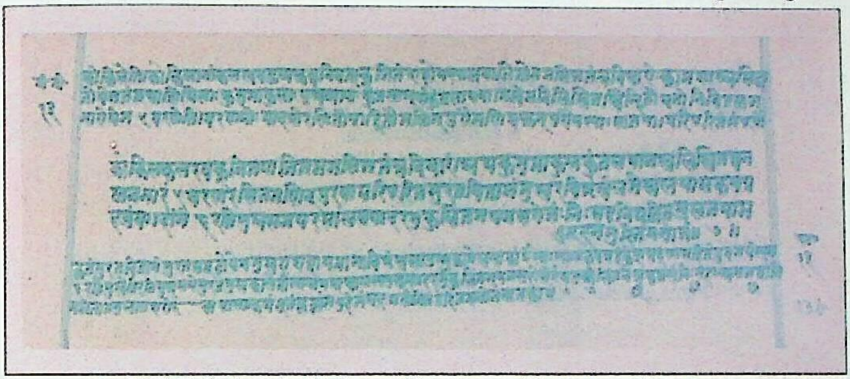
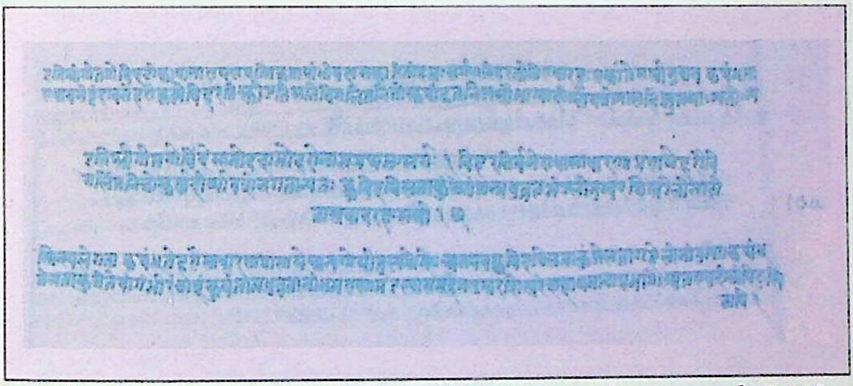


Iti Śrīgītagovinde Mahākāvye mugdha madhusūdano nāma caturtha sargaḥ
Gītagovinda গীতগোবিন্দ Saka era 1740 = 1818 AD [with comm.] Script Bengali



Kokilakalarabakujitayā jitamanasijatantra vicātam
Bālabodhināmnī Gītagovindaṭīkā Mūlasahita [Text with Commentary]
Script Nāgarī



Iti Śrī Gītagovinde Sāmoda dāmodaronāma prathamasargaḥ. F 16 b.
Bālabodhināmnī Gītagovindaṭīkā, mūlasahita
Script Nāgarī F. 10a

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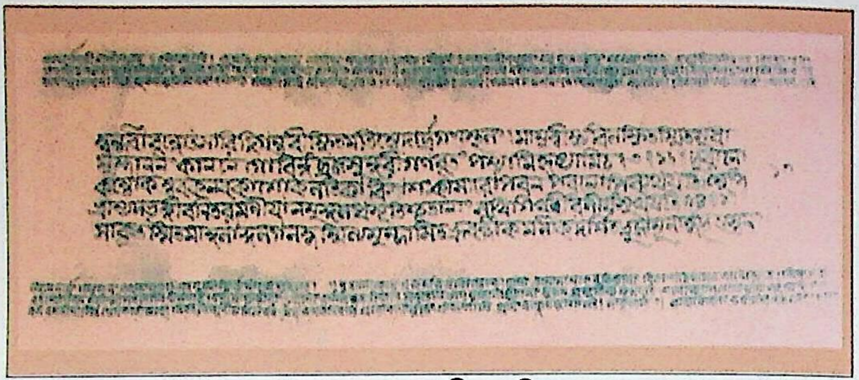
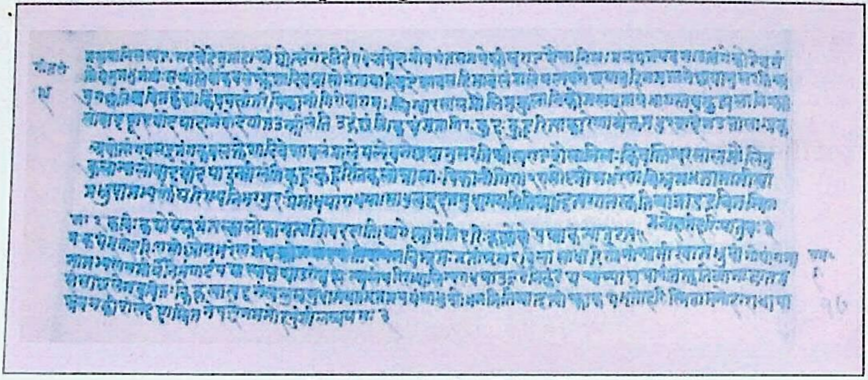
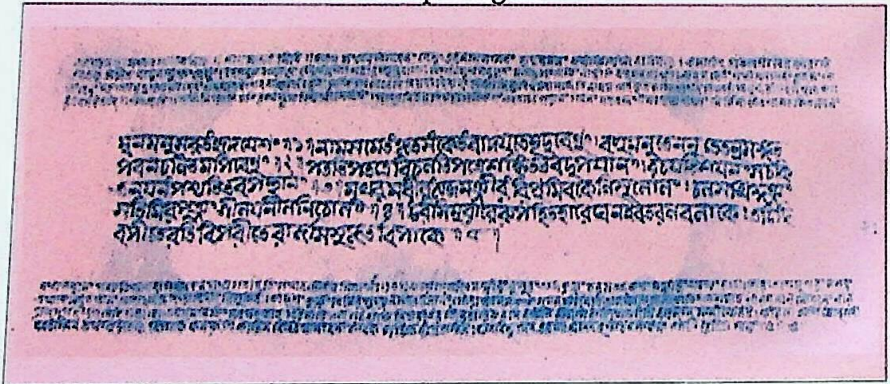


Gītagovinda/গীতগোবিন্দ
Saka era 1740 = 1818 AD.
Script Bengali. পৃ. ১৩ / F. 13



Gītagovindaṭīkā. Folio 9b
Script Nāgarī



Patatipatre vicalati patre śaṁkita bhavadupayānam
racayati śayanam sacakita nayanam paśyatitava panthānam
Gītagovinda/গীতগোবিন্দ
Saka era 1740 = 1818 AD. Script Bengali. Folio 21a

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svacchandaṁ vrajasundaribhir abhitaḥ pratyaṅgam āliṅgitaḥ
śṛṅgāraḥ sakhi mūrtimān iva madhau mugdho hariḥ krīḍati

(Canto 1, p. 46)

"Sweet, my friend, Rādhā here, in this spring, passionately doth Hari sport, like Love incarnate, steeping the gopī-s in bliss through his dalliances, enslaving them with the beauty of his Form, tender and beautiful like Nīlotpala (blue lily). Surrounded by the bevy of the belles of Vraja, He is gathered in wanted embrace by them who caress every limb of His with a burning passion." In such descriptions, Jayadeva is, perhaps, indebted to the 9th Skanda of the *Devībhāgavata* where the dalliance of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is enumerated. *Śṛṅgāra* sentiment, the *sine quanon* of this Kavya has been fully administered with its *sambhoga*[21] and *Vipralambha*[22] varieties. In this respect, Jayadeva has shown his ingenuity and not paid adherence to the general principle of the treatment of *rasa* in a poem. The literary critics maintain that in a literary composition, specially in a drama, one of the principal *rasas* should be dealt with prominently. Dhvanikāra says :

prasiddhe'pi prabandhānāṁ nānārasanibandhane !
eko raso'ṅgikartavyas teṣām utkarṣam icchatā !!

(Dhvanyāloka, III.21).

Viśvanātha specifically mentions that *Śṛṅgāra* or *vīra* should be the principal sentiment, while other *rasas* will be subordinated to nourish the principal one.[23] Though these rules are prescribed mainly for the dramatic works, these should similarly be employed in poems also. The G.G. develops *śṛṅgāra* in exclusion of other sentiments. If this way of treating *rasa* transpires to be incongrous, this apprehension can be expiated by Ānandavardhana's own proclamation[24] that if a poet's heart is filled with the flow of *rasa*, the whole creation will appear to be merged in *rasa*. It is an established truth that among all the *rasas* *śṛṅgāra* is the most attractive. "It may be a moot point", rightly remarks the learned editor of the G.G., "If *Śṛṅgāra* alone, to the exclusion of other Rasas, could ever constitute the sole sentiment of a composition ;

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but here we have it, for whatever it may be worth."[25] Jayadeva was perhaps, fully aware of the norms of the treatment of *rasa* in a *kāvya*, but deliberately does with this particular type of sentiment (i.e. *Śṛṅgāra*). Indications of our poet's devotional attitude, in whatever form it may be, can be detected, if one wishes to detect, from this work of Jayadeva but, in reality, throughout the twelve cantos, emphasis is given on the 'unbridled sallies of voluptuousness'. An ordinary reader, not quite aware of the niceties of the *rasa*-theory, after a study of this *Kāvya*, acquires chiefly a notion that the work is imbued with the gratification of sense.[26]

On some occasions of course, Jayadeva incidentally expresses his devotional attitude ; for example he speaks of himself as the devoted servant of Hari and advises all to bow down to him :—

śrījayadeve kṛtahariseve bhaṇati paramaramaṇīyam !
pramuditaṛdayaṁ harim atisadayaṁ namata sukṛtakamaṇīyam

(V. p. 80)

Again for the removal of all the adversities, he prostrates at the feet of Govinda— *śrīgovindapadāravindam aśubhaskandāya vandāmahe* (IX. p. 114). At the outset of his work, he tells us of the ten Avatāra-s and of Kṛṣṇa as the spirit of these *Avatāra-s (daśākṛtikṛte kṛṣṇāya tubhyaṁ namaḥ*— 1. p. 35). But in spite of all these devotional statements, the nature of Kṛṣṇa, elaborated in the *G.G.*, undoubtedly impeds any true spiritual possibility. Though towards the conclusion (XII. p. 148), Jayadeva reminds us of the subjects dealt with in his work, that is, the *Gandharva* art of music, meditation on the glories of Viṣṇu , different aspects of the science of Erotics, etc., at the same time he maintains that *Śṛṅgāra* is the preponderant element in the whole theme (*Śṛṅgāra -sārasvatam iha jayadevasya)*. For its concupiscent matters perhaps European scholars like Arnold and Jones have nourished hesitation when they attempted at the translation of the twelfth canto, namely, *Suprītapītāmbara* where erotic sentiment is elucidated at its height. On the other hand, they were eager to find out

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metaphysical aspects from this poem. Jones has defined the armours of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa in the *G.G.* as the "reciprocal attraction between the divine of goodness and the human soul" and so thought it unnecessary to include, in his translation, the twelfth canto which he supposed to be contrary to the trend of devotionalism. But from the Indian point of view, this canto is essential, for, the final union of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is described here, of course, ornamented with the superimposition of the daring amatory feelings.

To an othodox religious-minded person having a sense of the highest degree of reverence for the Divine Being, the *G.G.*, may appear to be culpable of obscenity, for, the Supreme Being, Kṛṣṇa has been redundantly described here as a lecherous and frivolous debauchee and Rādhā had *Khaṇḍita* type of heroine.[27] Due to this reason, perhaps, the work cannot attain enough popularity as a religious treatise and cannot as well be hailed by all categories of Kṛṣṇaite devotees. If judged in the perspective of the predications of the perceptive Sanskrit rhetoricians, the *G.G.* can be incriminated for the infringement of dealing with *rati* in relation to most venerable god Kṛṣṇa. Mammaṭa, while dwelling on the poetic blemishes in the 7th Ullāsa of his *Kāvyaprakāśa*, maintains that the *rati* of the *sambhoga* category should not be applied to the characters of the highest gods ; this kind of description, according to him, is inappropriate, for this would be tantamount to the description of the *sambhoga* of one's own parents.[28] Jagannātha directly convicts poets like Jayadeva who, in his opinion, have violated the general convention of narrating the *sambhoga rati* ; Jagann ātha, like Mammata, is of the view that the *sambhoga* with all its constituent *anubhāva*-s should not be distinctly applied to the behaviours of the highest and most revered gods.[29] When the opinions of these two learned critics are taken into consideration, the theme of the *G.G.* will appear highly offensive and will have to be accused of *rasabhanga*—"the most serious offence that a poet could be culpable of."

However, if one wants to defend Jayadeva, an

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argument can be given that the erotic trend remained strongly dominant in the minds of majority of the reputed Classical Sanskrit poets of all times and from their overexposing impulse, even the highest gods were not exempted. Some orthodox Indian critics, who accept the 8th canto of the *Kumārasambhava* to be the creation of Kālidāsa, go so far as to charge the poet with a break of propriety in elaborating the 'love adventure of the divine pair, śiva and Pārvatī.'[30] The tradition supposed to have been set by Kālidāsa, is said to have inspired the later Sanskrit poets to delineate the characters of the Divine Beings by imposing on their dealings sexual attributes and amorous feelings. In various Sanskrit poems and dramas,[31] the dalliance of the deities has been described in gentle and melodious stanzas and they do not always betray lack of good taste on the part of the writers. There are, of course, some later works, [32] marked with voluptuous descriptions with less artistic beauty and so they may be set aside from the spehere of our consideration.

Though Jayadeva's predisposition and overt attempt to paint the erotic sentiment deserve not to be estimated with the comparatively milder but more sophisticated treatment of voluptuousness in Kālidāsa's work, it has been remarked by some that in Jayadeva, "the last great Sanskrit poet of the highest artistic accomplishment, Sanskrit love poetry—in its technical aspects reached its climax."[33] All the niceties of the emotional and erotic sentiments are concatenated here and the poet aspires to illustrate the eroticism 'from its first awakening to the final fruition'. The love depicted herein seems to be the reflection of human emotion interlaced in charming word-pictures. The religious motive of the *G.G.*, if any, is enshrouded by the extensive illustrations of ardent earthly passions. With regard to the spirit of religion, Jayadeva's work, according to Keith, [34] stands like the Bacchae of Eurioides. The erotic mysticism exemplified in the work of Jayadeva is so attractive to a section of poets that it became a source of inspiration to later Vaiṣṇavite poems in the vernacular literature of Bengal.

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According to some[35] again, Jayadeva depicts, in his work, the elements of *Bhaktirasa*, which is regarded as the pivot of all the sentiments and nourished later on by the Caitanyaite Vaiṣṇavas. But irrespective of its apparent religious tendency it may be definitely concluded that the G.G. is more important from the standpoint of its form than its theme.

III

If a fussy critic tries to search out shortcomings in Jayadeva's work, he will not, perhaps, be disappointed. It is also true that so far as poetic skill and imaginative power are concerned, Jayadeva cannot be compared with poets like Kālidāsa ; on the other hand, the G.G., though nothing but a composite *kāvya*, it cannot satisfy all the contentions, if viewed from the standpoint of the learned authorities, relating to the Sanskrit poetic composition ; but one should certainly admit that in his own realm Jayadeva stands unparallel and his creation is a valuable asset to the Sanskrit literature. The poet has perhaps attempted to model his work on the traditional *Mahākāvya*-s and yet at the same time he has cast it in a semi-dramatic structure ; but its spirit is absolutely 'lyrical'. Its introductory as well as the interspersed narrative verses, composed in traditional Sanskrit metres, testify to the kind of classical treatment. As his work is distributed over twelve cantos having interesting titles[36] wherein the thread of the whole theme remains latent, it appears that Jayadeva purposes to present an unprecedented type of Sanskrit *Mahākāvya*. Besides the narrative verses, the poem profusely consists of *Padāvali*-s or songs to be sung in various tunes. The poet himself emphasizes, at the outset of the work, that his strains are of the nature of sublime and lucid *Padāvali*-s (*madhurakomala-kāntapadāvalim)*. Its musical character is also hinted at by Jayadeva himself when he extends invitation to interested persons to listen to the 'songs' composed by him (*śṛṇu tadā Jayadeva-sarasvatīm)*. It was, perhaps, his scheme that this poem should be recited before and listened to by respected audience.[37] The allotment of different

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rāga-s and *tāla*-s to the songs also for corroborates the idea that the poem is purposefully composed for systematic musical performance. In this connection it may be mentioned that an Orissan inscription, dated, 7th July, 1499 A.D., discovered at Puri, states that king Pratāparudra passed the order that the *devadāsī*-s and the Vaiṣṇava singers of the Puri temple should learn and sing the verses of the *G.G.* only and should not sing any other song before the image of Jagannātha and Balarāma.[38] Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja informs us that one day Caitanya asked Svarūpa-Dāmodara, one of his devoted followers, to sing a song by which his disturbed mind might be solaced and Svarūpa recited verses from the *G.G.(Caitanyacaritāmṛta, Antyakhaṇḍa,* XV, pp. 82-85). Caitanya, along with Svarūpa-Dāmodara and Rāmānanda Rāya, used to sing and enjoy, with extreme delight, the verses composed by Caṇḍīdāsa and Vidyāpati, as well as passages from the drama *Jagannāthavallabha* of Rāmānanda, the *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta* of Līlāśuka and the *G. G.* (Caitanyacaritamrta, of Jayadeva (*Cait. Car., Madhyakhaṇḍa,* II. p. 77). It may sound strange that a *mahākāvya* should be a text for the purpose of singing, but we should remember that a grand epic like the *Rāmāyaṇa* was put into tune by Kuśa and Lava, the twin sons of Rāma, and the *Mahābhārata* was also recited to Parīkṣita. So Jayadeva's work may be designated as a 'musical poem', a peculiar type, not so popular in the extant classical Sanskrit literature. This work cannot, however, be enrolled in the series of traditional Sanskrit *Mahākāvya*-s due to its inability in accomplishing the requirements prescribed by the literary critics like Daṇḍin and Viśvanātha.

Again, if Jayadeva had actually an intention to compose a poetical drama on the Kṛṣṇa-legend, he had enough opportunity to pick out a plan allied to that of the *Mahānāṭaka*, also known as *Hanumānnāṭaka* or the *Gopālakelicandrikā*. The *Mahānāṭaka*,[39] alleged to be the work of Hanumān, deals, in nine Acts, with the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, but it does not strictly conform to the rules of Sanskrit dramaturgy. It is shaped in a dramatic structure, but dialogues are mostly in

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verses. In the beginning it has the usual *Nāndīśloka*, the Sūtradhāra's introduction as *Nāndyante Sūtradhāraḥ* and the dramatist specifically divides the work into acts. The author of the *Hanumānnāṭaka* does not directly call it a *nāṭaka*, but a new *Rāmāyaṇa*, as the Sūtradhāra's incipient dialogue includes the statement—*taddhirā kuruta pramodam adhunā vaktāsmi Rāmāyaṇam* (Act 1, verse 14). S. K. De passes his comments on the nature of the work thus—"...the work, though nominally exhibiting a dramatic form, gives one the impression of being a narrative composition as opposed to the dramatic, and could have as well been written in narrative or epic form. It is devoid of all dramatic action, being rather a collection of poems, descriptive and narrative, with interpersed metrical dialogues of a crude nature and *quasi* stage directions."[40] But in spite of its deficiencies from the standpoint of the traditional characteristics of a drama, the poet intends to present his composition as nothing but a dramatic work. From the perusal of the G.G. we are unable to gather a similar notion of our poet's least purposeful effort to shape his work with dramatic possibility.

The *Gopālakelicandrikā* [41] of Rāmakṛṣṇa of Gujarat, cannot be older than 12th century A.D., as, it mentions the *Hanumannāṭaka* (i.e. the *Mahānāṭaka)* and contains a reference to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, the latter, according to Winternitz, being composed in the 10th century A.D.[42] It is Kṛṣṇa-play which was intended to be acted before a *rūpa-maṇḍala* (p. 45) and the spectators were not ordinary people, but comprised mainly the devotees of Kṛṣṇa (*nāyaṁ sādhāraṇa-rājasamājaḥ kintu haribhaktivayāṇām*...p. 44). The play is written in Sanskrit with only a short sentence in Prākṛta in the beginning (*praviśya nāti - ajjautta ko niyoyo* p. 44) ; here the Naṭī first addresses the Sūtradhāra in Sauraseni Prākṛta, but she is interrupted and requested by the stage-manager to speak in Sanskrit. The Naṭī wants to know how it is possible to enact a drama which is devoid of the Prākṛta language.[43] The Sūtradhāra replies that the *Mahānāṭaka* and other dramas, where Prākṛta is absent, are quite enjoyable

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because of their proper treatment of various *rasa*-s.[44] In the *Gopā lakelicandrikā*, the division of the acts is not properly shown and after the second Act, no reference to the beginning or end of any act is directly made, but left on the assumption of the readers. Due to several other peculiarities, Sten Konow has concluded that "the play was a reading drama, not destined for the stage at all, but only meant to be recited or studied in writing".[45] In the *Prastāvanā*, however, the drama is mentioned as being acted. It has been again observed in this drama "how dramatical peculiarities were transferred from the village stage to the learned theatre".[46] But in spite of the predominance of metrical dialogues in it and some short-comings which apparently thwart it from the sphere of a full-fledged drama, it cannot be classed with the G.G., for, the Sūtradhāra, in the former work, specifically mentions it a *nāṭaka*.[47] The direct or indirect references to act-divisions and definite stage-directions give us 'an impression that Rāmakṛṣṇa's purpose was nothing but composing a new pattern of dramatic piece. Dramatic technique could also have been utilized in the *G.G.* as in the *Gopā lakelicandrikā*, if Jayadeva's propensity was to do it.

Now it must be admitted that Jayadeva's work cannot be included in any type of the traditional poetry described by the ancient rhetoricians. Besides its semi-dramatic and semi-lyrical leaning, it is obviously a *kāvya* purposed for singing, and obviously accompanied with dancing. Jayadeva styles himself as *Kavinṛpa-jayadevaka* (VII. 29) and his work as *Jayadeva-kavibhā rati* (VII. 10). Though the term *Kavi* is used in a wide sense, it seems here to indicate that Jayadeva was prominently a 'poet' in its modern sense, and his aim was, principally, to write an uncommon poetry. Again, he has designed his poem as *maṅgalam ujjvalagītam* (I. 25), that is, an auspicious and delightful collection of songs. Thus, 'musical poem' is well-suited for this work, though such a class was not anticipated by our rhetoricians. In this work, there are altogether twenty four songs (*aṣṭāpadī*-s) and at the beginning of each song, the names of the *rāga* and *tāla* in which they are

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to be sung, are mentioned. The metres and the rhythms of these songs are similar in spirit to those of Prākṛta and Apabhraṁśa verses. The same type of *dhruvapada*-s *(dhuā)* used in the songs of the regional languages and prominently noticed in the medieval Bengali songs, is also found in the *G.G.*, and, therefore, it transpires that the songs of this work were first recited by a chief singer and then dittoed by others. But the hypothesis, as referred to above, that Jayadeva translated corresponding verses written in *Apabhraṁśa* or any other old regional language into Sanskrit, is uncalled for, though we can notice an apparent affinity between the style of the *G.G.* and that of *Apabhraṁśa* verses. That the *G.G.* is not a transformation of a Sanskrit version from its anticipated vernacular counterpart, may be deduced from the fact that it, with all its rhythmic charms, cannot be satisfactorily retranslated in any other language. Like the works of Bhāravi and Māgha, the *G.G.* cannot be ranked in the artificial *kāvya*-s by virtue of its outstanding linguistic and literary merits. As we have seen that the *G.G.* avoids the tradition of the so-called Sanskrit poetic works and is bedecked with musical ingredients, it creates a new literary type unknown in the field of existensive classical Sanskrit literature ; the most remarkable contribution of the work of Jayadeva is that later Bengali poetry with 'rhythmed and melodious metres' got its inspiration from its *Padāvalī*-s.[49]

To conclude, it may be reiterated that Jayadeva's proneness was to display his skill in making a real and endearing *kāvya* and apropos of the artistic treatment of the subject-matter and proper elucidation of the decent and stratified musical notes, we are again enthusiastic to give it a distinguished place as an encomiastic Sanskrit poem. The lyrical, dramatic and apparently religious elements, which are blended in it, are only concomitant to its poetical quality, polarizing it to a more compact and unprecedent type of poetic composition. In fact, this 'musical poem' is a deliberate work of art from the standpoint of its literary merit as well as of the devotional attributes, in whatever way the work may be implemented by scholars of divergent outlook.

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Foot Note

1. *caṇḍidās-o vidyāpati, rāyer nāṭakagīti, karṇāmṛta śrīgītagovinda/*
swarūpa-rāmānanda sane mahāprabhu rātridine gāy śune parama ānada/
(Caitanyacaritāmṛta, Ed. by Srīla Bhaktivilāsatīrtha, Mayapur, Nadia), West Bengal, Gaurāngābda 470, Madhyalīlā, Ch. II, p. 77).
2. *A Literary History of India, London, 1915, p. 339* .
3. *Ibid.* pp. 343-344.
4. *viharati harir iha sarasvasante/*
nṛtyati yuvatijanena samaṁ sakhi virahijanasya durante//
(The *Gītagovindakāvya* of Jayadeva, ed. by L. Laksminarasimha Sastri, Madras, 1956, Canto I, p. 40).
5. *rāse harim iha vihitavil āsam/*
smarati mano mama kṛtaparihāsam//
—Ibid., Canto II, p. 48
6. S.K. De—*History of Sanskrit Literature,* University of Calcutta, 1947, p. 393.
7. *A History of Sanskrit Literature,* Motilal Banarasidass, 1962, p. 290.
8. S.K. De—*Hist. of Skt.* lit. p. 39.
9. *'The Yātrās or the Popular Dramas of Bengal'* , published by Ṛddhi, Calcutta-9, 1976 (Reprint), p. 5; first published from London, 1882.
10. "...the ordinary Yātrā or the popular dramas which are so very fashionable amongst the peasantry of Bengal, are, as usual, revolting to all good tastes and sentiments, not however, on account of the subjects they treat of, but on account of the needless indelicacies and independent gests and costumes introduced by those who have the responsibility to act them."—N.K. Chattopadhyaya : *'The Yātrās or the Popular Dramas of Bengal'* .
11. *Origin and Development of Bengali Language,* Vol. I. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. London, 1970, p. 125.
12. S.K. Chatterjee, on another occasion, has remarked : "It is not unlikely that the Apabhraṃśa or Old Bengali verses obtained a great popularity, and this induced Jayadeva to render them into Sanskrit, to give them a permanent and a pan-Indian form. This is of course a surmise..." *"Jayadeva"* by S.K. Chatterjee, Sahitya Akademi New Delhi, 1973, p. 31.
13. A. A. Macdonell : *A History of Sanskrit Literature,* p. 290.
14. Mr. Hudson maintains that 'Lyrical' is often loosely applied to the personal and subjective poetry in which "the poet goes down into himself and finds his inspiration and his subjects in his own experiences, thoughts and feelings."—*An introduction to the Study of Literature,* London, 1919, pp. 125-26.

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15. M. Krishnamachariar : *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature,* Motilal Banarasidas. 1973, p.341.
16. *The Gītagovinda-Kāvya of Jayadeva,* ed. by S, Laksminarasimha Sastri, Madras, 1956, Introduction, p. 7.
17. *śarīraṁ tāvad iṣṭārrthāvyavacchinnā padāvalī /*
    —*Kāvyādarśa*, 1, 10.
18. *ramaṇīyatā ca lokottar āhlādajanakajñānagocaratā /*
    lokottaratvaṁ cāhlādagatas'camatkāratvāparaparyāo' nubhavasākṣiko jātiviśeṣaḥ //
    kāraṇañca tad avacchinne bhāvanāviśeṣaḥ punaḥ punaranusandhānātmā //
    (*Rasa. Gang. Kāvyamālā Series*, 1916, No. 12, 1st Anna, p.4).
19. *Dhvnyāloka*, publised in the Kasi Sanskrit Series, 1944, Udyota 1, p. 22.
20. *Introduction to the Gītagovindakāvya* of Jayadeva, Madras, 1956, p. 15.
21. *darśanasparśanādīni niṣeveta vilāsinau /*
    yatrānuraktāvanyonyasambhogo 'yamudāhṛtaḥ //
    —*Sāhityadarpaṇa*, ed. by Haridas Siddhantavagish, Calcutta, 1857 Śākābda, Chapter III, p. 212.
22. *yatra tu ratiḥ prakṛṣṭā nābaiṣṭam upaiti vipralambho' sau, S. D.,* III. p. 190
23. *eka eva bhavedaṅgī śṛṅgāro vīra eva vā //*
    aṅgam anye rasā sarve //
    —*S.D.*, VI, p.6.
24. *śṛṅgāre cet kaviḥ kāvye jātaṁ rasamayaṁ jagat /*
    sa eva vitarāgaś cennirāsaṁ sarvam eva tat //
    —*Dhvanyāloka*, Parikara-Sloka after III. p.41
25. *Introduction to the Gītagovindakāvya of Jayadeva,* Madras, p. 14.
26. "It is many years now since I read *Gītagovinda* as a text-book at college, but the impression I still retain is that it was in many parts too warm for European taste".—John Beams : Caitanya and the Vaiṣṇava poets of Bengal, *Indian Antiquary,* 1873, p. 4, foot-note.
27. The definition of *khaṇḍitā* given by Rūpa Goswāmī, is :
    ullaṅghya samayaṁ yasya preyān anyopabhogavān/
    bhogalakṣmāṅkitaḥ prātar āgacchet sā hi khaṇḍitā //
    (*Ujjvalanīlamaṇi, Nāyikābhedaprakaraṇa*, ed. Haridas Das, Navadvīpa, 478 Gaurābda, p. 99
28. *ratiḥ sambhoga śṛṅgārarūpā uttamadevatāviṣayā na varṇanīyā /*
    tad varṇanaṃ hi pitryoḥ sambhogavarṇanam iva atyantam anucitam//
    (*Kāvyaprakāśa*. R.D. Karmakar's edition. Ullāsa VIII, p. 443).

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29. *'atra ratyādinām bhayātirikatasthāyibhāvānam sarvatra samatvepi rateḥ sambhogarūpāyāḥ mānuṣeṣu ivottamadeva tāsu sphūṭikṛtasakalānubhavavarṇanam anucitam/....Jayadevādibhistu Gītagovindādiprabandheṣu sakalasahṛdayasammato' yaṁ samayo madonmattamātaṅgajairiva bhinna.....//*
–*(Rasagaṅgādhara, 1st Ānana, p. 52)*

30. S.K.De remarks in this connection that "The theorists condemn coarseness or vulgarity but curiously enough they do not usually disapprove of this conventional or artistic indecency which was admitted by a developed but deplorable taste and which is all the more offensive because of its very refinement" : *Ancient Indian Erotics and Erotic Literature.* Calcutta, 1959, p. 38.

31. Cf. Benedictory verses of Śrī Harṣa's dramas–*Priyadarśikā and Ratnāvalī; Srīharṣa's Naiṣadhacarita.*

32. Cf. Lakṣmaṇa Ācārya's *Caṇḍikucāpañcāsīkā* describing in fifty stanzas the beauty of Caṇḍī's breasts, vide Keith : *A Hist. of Skt. Lit.*, Oxford University Press, 1956, p. 221.

33. *S.K. De–Ibid., p. 64.*

34. *A Hist. of Skt. Lit., p. 194.*

35. "The poem of Jayadeva marks the gradual development in the twelfth century of the doctrine of Faith *(bhakti)* of emotion and personal love towards a deity in human form."
—R. W. Frazer : *A Lit. Hist. of India,* p. 343.

36. *Sāmodaāmodaraḥ, Aklesākesavaḥ, Mugdha-madhusūdanaḥ, Snigdha-madhusūdanaḥ, Sākāṅkṣa-puṇḍarikākṣaḥ, Dhṛṣṭa,/ Vilakṣya-lakṣmi-patiḥ, Mugdha-mukundaḥ, Caturacaturabhujaḥ, Sānandadāmodaraḥ, and Suprita-pitāmbaraḥ.*

37. "From a study of the *Pṛthvīrājarāso* (in old Hindi) of poet Cand Baradai, (circa 13th century A.D.), it is clear that the 'Hymn to Govinda' as composed by poet Jayadeva was solely meant to be sung before Kṛṣṇa-Govinda, the god of his personal devotion".
—S.C. Mukherjee : *A study of Vaiṣṇavism in Ancient and Medieval Bengal,* Calcutta, 1966, p. 95.

38. *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. 62, pp. 96-97 ; and *J.A.S.B.*, 1906, Vol. 2, No. 5 (New Series). p. 168.

M.M. Haraprasad Sastri states that in his time, "the songs of the *Gītagovinda* were actually sung in the temple of Jagannatha at Puri".—*Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society,* 1919, Vol. 5. p. 175. Sir William Jones informs us that in his time 'the *Gītagovinda* was sung and danced' in the annual festivals performed during the birth anniversaries of poet Jayadeva at Kenduli.—*Asiatic Researches,* Vol. 3, p. 183. It is also reported that "even in the early

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decades of the present century, a certain *Kṛṣṇanāṭaka*, a 'lyrical drama' after the model of the *Gītagovinda*, was performed by trained actors."—S.C. Mukherjee, *ibid., p. 99.*

39. Edited by Jivananda Vidyasagar, Calcutta, 1939.
40. The Problem of the *Mahānāṭaka, Indian Historical Quarterly,* 1981, p. 537.
41. Edited by W. Caland, Amsterdam, Johannes Muller. 1917.
42. M. Winternitz : *A History of Indian Literature,* University of Calcutta, 1927, Vol. 1, p. 528 ; Thomas J. Hopkins in his Article, entitled "The Social Teaching of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa", ascribes the Bhāgavata to the ninth century, probably 850 A.D. Hopkins' Article is included in the Book—"Kṛṣṇa : Myths, Rites and Attitudes", edited by Milton Singer, University of Hawii, 1966.
43. *kathaṁ tadā prākṛtaracanācamatkāraṁ vinābhinayapradarśanam*
    —p. 44
44. nahi mahākavipraṇitahanumannāṭakādiṣu prākṛtaracanā camatkāraḥ /
    rasānubhāvastu pratipadam anubhūyate' to gīrbāṇabhāṣyayā vyavahāraḥ kāryaḥ/
    —Page 14
45. *Indian Antiquary,* 1920. p. 236.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 236.
47. *atra bhagavaccaraṇalīnāmuditena rāmakṛṣṇaena -viracitam apurvagopālakelicandrikābhidham nāṭakam asmāsu nikṣiptam / —p.* 45.
48. The *Srīkṛṣṇakīrtana* of Baḍu Caṇḍīdāsa whose date, according to divergence of views, varies from 1380 A.D. to 1550 A.D., is the most popular work, composed in Old Bengali, and to some extent, it is an imitation of the *Gītagovinda.* Vdiyāpati's mellifluous Maithilī songs were so much influenced by the erotic notes of Jayadeva's verses that king Siva Singha conferred on him the title, *Abhinava-Jayadeva.*

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GITAGOVINDA AND INDIAN CULTURAL PRISM

Mahua Mukherjee

Among the invaluable treasures that human history can boast there is classical Indian Dance forms.

When we seek its origin we find that classical Indian Dance is based on four different areas of *abhinaya*—Āṅgika, Vācika, Sāttvika and Āhārya.

Āṅgika—body language.

Vācika—verbal as in literature.

Āhārya—Dress, make-up, costume, jewellery, stage, craft etc.

Sāttvika—As in the uplift of the soul or quest for the sublime.

Of the four components, one supposes, the verbal form of language is the most important. For example, if one is playing Krishna the Vācika has to be organically related to and keeping pattern with the *āṅgika, āhārya* and *sāttvika*. And this is precisely where the role of the poet or the literati comes in. The first name that comes to mind in this context is that of Jayadeva of Bengal. Jayadeva was the Last of the ancients and the First of the moderns in Indo-Aryan Poetry. He flourished in the latter part of the twelfth century. He was the main court poet of King Laxmansena of Gauda-Banga.[1]

Jayadeva, the author of the *Gitagovinda*, is pre-eminent among Sanskrit poets and is acknowledged universally to be the writer of the sweetest lyrics in the Sanskrit language. His name comes spontaneously at the end as the last great poet in an enumeration of the classic poets of Sanskrit—Aśvaghoṣa, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Bhartṛhari, Harṣadeva, Bhāravi, Śrīharṣa, Jayadeva. He is, in fact, the last of the classical poets

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of Sanskrit literature, who influenced on the later poets and scholars all over India through his single work, the *Gitagovinda*. According to Prof. Suniti Kumar Chattopadhyay—"Jayadeva's *Padāvalī* as in the *Gitagovinda* stands at the head of the *pada* Literature of Middle Bengali,...he can be justly be hailed the *Ādi-Kavi*, the First Finished Poet of Bengali, as he is the Last of the Classic Poets of pre-Muslim India."[2] Professor Chattopadhyay addressed him as the Makers of Indian Literature.[3]

Like literature, a renowned South Indian musicologist T.S.Parthasarathi, in his article *'Padams And Short Lyrics In Dance'* pointed out that—"The *Nāṭyaśāstra* mentions the *Padam* as an indispensable constituents of the Gandharva. Bharata has used the word *'Padam'* in the sense of *sāhitya*, or any song employed for *abhinaya*. The characteristic of a *Padam* is that it is intended for *nritya*. Ancient dance compositions, if there were any, have not survived the ravages of time; there is nothing traceable prior to the 13th century when the *Gita-govindam* of Jayadeva was written. Interestingly enough, Jayadeva calls his work a *padavali* or series of padams or a prabandha or poetical composition. What is significant is that the *aṣṭapadīs* are eminently suited for *abhinaya*. Jayadeva was the first to write regular musical compositions to give *ragas* and *talas* with a *nayaka-nayika* motif covering *sṛṅgāra* or love in all its aspects, love-in-separation and love-in-union. Jayadeva's lyric sequence depicts seven of the eight coventional *nayikas* described in dance treatises."[4] Jayadeva was young contemporary of the Buddhist *Charyā* poets of Bengal with his songs in the *Gita-govinda*, called *gitas* in the poem itself but known also as *padas* (c.f. his own use of the term in the expression *padāvalī* in "madhura-kōmala-kānta-padāvalīm sṛṇutada Jayadeva-sarasvatīm" *Gita-govinda* 1, 3). *Gita-govinda* stands at the head of the *pada* literature of Middle Bengali.[2]

A great South Indian Sanskrit scholar and musicologist Professor V. Raghavan echoed with T.S. Parthasarathy and Prof. Suniti Kr. Chatterji. He mentioned in his famous article

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Uparupakas and Nritya Pravandhas—"The *Gita-govinda* occupies indeed a key-position in the history of both music and dance and not only inspired numerous Sanskrit imitations but led to the outburst of a class of musical dance-drama in the local languages, sometimes mixed with Sanskrit, in different parts of the compositions of Sankaradeva of Assam, of Umapati in Bihar of Bhagavatanāṭakas and Yakshaganas and the Kṛṣṇāṭṭam and Kathākali of the Andhra, Karnataka, Tamil and Malayalam areas—all return to the *Gita-Govinda* as the ultimate source and inspiration. In the whole history of music and dance, in any part of the world, I do not think there has been a creation of a genius of greater destiny and potentiality than the *Gitagovinda* of Jayadeva."[5]

So the above mentioned comments assured us that *Gitagovinda* has certainly a great contribution to the evolution of Indian dance. As for example in the case of Bharata Nāṭyam we find a mingling of several streams like Sādir, Kuruvānji, Kuchipudī , Bhagavatamelā Nāṭya and many others.[6,7,8] Among them three significant ones are Bhagavatamelā Nāṭakta, Kuchipudī and Kuruvānji which has deep relationship with *Gitagovinda*. The tradition of Kuruvānji dance-drama appears to be nearly three hundred years old. The influence of *Gita-Govinda* is easily discerned in the role of the *sakhi*, the confidante.[9] Tirtha Narayana Yati, the author of *Krishnaleelatarangini*, was one of those who enriched the Bhagavatamelā tradition. Tirtha Narayana Yati, incidentally, was the great admirer of *Gitagovinda*. As a matter of fact he was considered a reincarnation of Jayadeva. It is needless to say that inspiration behind *Krishnaleelatarangini* was Jayadeva's *Gita-Govinda* or in other words the impact, now almost forgotten, of *Gita-Govinda* on Bhagavatamelā Nāṭaka and Kuchipudī deserves to be emphasized.[8, 10]

If we examine Kerala's store house of literature, drama, dance and cultural heritage we will find an undeniable influence of Jayadeva's *Gitagovinda*. Dr. S. K. Nayar in his book *'Kathakali Manjari'* has stated—Music in Kathakali like its literary form, has been borrowed from Jayadeva's Gita-

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govinda or Aṣṭapadi, as it is known, became very popular in Kerala not very later than its composition.[11]

Kathakali music is very much indebted to Aṣṭapadī in all its aspects. In order to commemorate this indebtedness to *Gitagovinda*, a song commencing with 'Manjutara' is sung even today at the beginning of the Kathakali performance.[11] Prince Kerala Verma in his essay on the origin of Kathakali has mentioned the holds of *Gitagovinda* and Bengal's *Krishna Yatra*—"First of all what is the origin or the source of this art? Different scholars attribute it to different source. Some say that it is evolved out of Jayadeva's *Gitagovinda* and the *Krishna Yatra* in Bengal."[12]

From Prof. Aimanam Krishna Kaimal (Kathākali Vijñāna Kōśam) we come to know—Aṣṭapadī or *Gitagovinda* was written by Jayadeva Kavi in 12th Century A.D. Aṣṭapadī āṭṭam is a dance form which arose in Kerala based on *Git govindam*. The Aṣṭapadī songs were sung to the accompaniment of instruments (Edakka etc.) at the sopana of the temples of Kerala as a devotional ritual (Koti-Padal-Seva). That brought about a musical system called *Sopana-Sangeetam* and also new dance form, based on *Gitagovinda*. It should be worthwhile to mention here the comments of the eminent researcher Smt. Nirmala Paniker—"There was widely in vogue in Kerala a dance form called *Astapadiyattam* which was a presentation through dance of poet Jayadeva's *Gitagovindam*. *Gitagovindam* has always exercised an enormous influence on all the art forms of Kerala, especially on the various dance forms as well as music and painting and also with a *nayaka-nayika* motif."[13] According to Dr. V. Raghavan the influence of *Gitagovindam* was not only confined to Kathākali, Mohinīāṭṭam, Bharatanāṭyam and Kuchipudī but it ranged throughout Southern India—"For the heritage of the music of South India, the *Gitagovinda* of Jayadeva continued to exert its all round influence in Love-themes, devotional singing and the structure of song or song poems."[13]

The modern Odissi dance was born of the confluence of many streams—temple centric Māhārī, the rural Gotipua

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and many others.[14,15,16] The former used to dance in temples and they migrated to Puri from Andhra and Gujarat.[14] And it was this Māhārī form that underwent a sea-change under the influence of the Chaitanya sect, in particular Ramananda Roy. Further, the influence of *Gita-govinda* is evident in Ramananda Roy's major works—'Pijush Lahari' and 'Jagannath Vallabha Naiaka'. In this context it is worth remembering the injunction was given by Chaitanya Deva's ardent follower Raja Prataparudra, of Orissa, to the effect that the Maharis will only be allowed to perform *Gita-govinda* dance drama in the temple at Puri. So we learn from that Oriya inscription in the Jagannath temple at Puri dated 1499 A.D., that from that date only the songs and poems of the *Gita-govinda* and from no other work to be sung and recited by the *Devadasis,*[17,18,19] Ramananda Roy who came under the influence of Chaitanya Deva and became his devotee, he taught the *māhārī abhinaya* (histrionics) to the *aṣṭapadīs* of *Gitagovinda*. He also arranged for the enactment of the *Gita-govinda* as a dance-drama.[19]

The influence of *Gitagovinda* in Manipuri Dance is deep and far-reaching. Sometime in the 15th Century Bhavani Nath Bhattacharyya of Bengal found placement as a priest at a *Viṣṇu* Mandir situated in a village called Viṣṇupur, located in Manipur. It was here that he initiated reading of Viṣṇu stotra and singing of *Daśāvatāra Kirtana* modelled on Jayadeva's *Gita-govinda*. Because of the unavailability of the usual brass bells he and his contemporaries from Bengal used 'iron sticks' and a 'Pung' (a crossbreed of the 'Khunbung' of Manipur and the 'Srīkhol' of Bengal) to maintain rhythm during evening prayer.[20]

During the 'Ratha Yatra' festival in Manipur 'Khubak Isai' is performed. It involves the clapping of hands by women singers as accompaniment to Jayadeva's *Gitagovinda*, especially to its original version of the *Daśāvatāra*.[21]

In Kathak *Śrī Kṛṣṇa* is considered the supreme dancer and the role of *Rādhā* is extremely important. In a sense her role is pivotal. In the context of the all India scene this pivotal

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role of '*Rādhā*' has been largely influenced by Jayadeva's *Gita-govinda*. During the 12th-15th centuries, a great deal of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa literature was written. The *Gita-govinda* of Jayadeva is the most prominent of them. It is Jayadeva who brings out for the first time the intense and passionate love of *Rādhā* and *Kṛṣṇa*. Later Caṇḍīdāsa and Vidyāpati produced beautiful *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa* lyrics in Bengali and Maithili respectively. Chaitanya Mahāprabhu made the *Rādhā -Kṛṣṇa* cult the basis of his teaching and tells that there is nothing else that can touch the human heart so powerfully.[22] And in this context it is needless to highlight the contribution of Sri Chaitanya Deva, who ordered his six ardent followers known as *Ṣaḍagosvāmis* to resurrect revive the totally destroyed Vṛndāvana and it was become one of the main centres for Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava religion and culture. The popularity of *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa* cult in the North-Eastern provinces of India appears to date from the advent of the great reformer Chaitanya Deva.[23]

The influence of *Gitagovinda* on Medieval Indian Painting, in its different schools both in North and the South of India has been considerable. The erotic sculptures of contemporary North Indian Art, and in others, form the best plastic representations or illustrations of the *Gitagovinda* scenes and situations. Themes and situations from the poem have inspired some of the most beautiful pictures in the various schools of Gujarat and Rajasthan, of North India (Vrindavan and Benarasa) and of the Himalayan regions—Kangra, Chamba, Mandi, Bashli and other areas, as well as Nepal.[24]

With the discovery and study of Sanskrit by European scholars, Jayadeva's poetic genius was immediately appreciated. His great poem was translated by Sir William Jones (1746-1794) and then by Friedrich Ruckert (1788-1866) into German and they were followed by other translators in French, English, German and other European languages. The *Gitagovinda* has now been accepted as one of Masterpieces even of World literature.[25] *Gitagovinda* has an important impact on '*Gaudiya Nritya*'. Scholar like E. Krishna Iyer

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commented in his article—"Jayadeva of Bengal, who wrote his beautiful Ashtapadis, is said to have expounded them by the dance and *abhinaya* of his own wife Padmavati."[26]

Though not a book of theological nature, the *Gitagovinda* exercised a tremendous influence on the Chaitanya movement in Bengal and on the other hand Rabindranath in his literary creativity. He wrote—

"ভারতের শেষে;
আমি বসে আজি; যে শ্যামল বঙ্গদেশে
জয়দেব কবি, এক বর্ষার দিনে
দেখেছিলা দিগন্তরে তমালবিপিনে
শ্যামচ্ছায়া, পূর্ণমেঘে মেদুর অম্বর।"

মেঘদূত □ মানসী

So finally we come to Tagore who not only an ardent admirer of Jayadeva but was also convinced that he was his precursor.

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TWO-DAY INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR
ON
GITAGOVINDA AS A SOURCE & INSPIRATION OF LITERATURE AND PLASTIC ARTS OF INDIA

INAUGURAL SESSION : 17 MARCH 2004 at 11.30 A.M.

Opening Song from Gitagovinda	:	Sri Amitava Mukherjee
Welcome Address	:	Professor Dilip Coomer Ghose
Inaugural Address	:	Professor Ramakanta Chakraborty
Key-note Address	:	Professor M. Kirti Singh
Presidential Address	:	Professor Amalendu De
Vote of Thanks	:	Professor Pallab Sengupta

ACADEMIC SESSION I : 12.30 P.M.
Chairman : Professor Subhadra Kr. Sen

'Naikabheda' and Gitagovinda	:	Professor Satyanarayan Chakraborty
The Influence of Gitagovinda on Indian Literature	:	Professor Bijaya Goswami
Gitagovinda and Gaudiya Vaishnab Literature	:	Professor Amitrasudan Bhattacharyya
Gitagovinda on Impact of Assamese Performing Arts	:	Dr. Pradip Jyoti Mohanti

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LUNCH

ACADEMIC SESSION II : 2.30 P.M.

Chairman : Dr. Faidros Kavallaris

Odissi dance and Gitagovinda	:	Guru Muralidhar Majhi Assisted by Dr Pushpita Mukherjee, Tarit Bhattacharyya, Bamdev Bishwal and Prerana Lahiri.
Influence of Gitagovinda in Bharatanatyam and Kuchipudi	:	Guru Khagendra Nath Burman Assisted by Arkadev Bhattacharyya, Keya Bhaduri and Ramakrishna Banerjee.
Influence of Gitagovinda on Mohiniattam	:	Padmasri Guru Bharati Shivaji Assisted by Mom Gangopadhyay and Vijayaluxmi
Impact of Gitagovinda on Contemporary Manipuri Dance	:	Ms. Preeti Patel Assisted by Suraj Kumar, Ratan Singh, Chinmoy Karmakar, Vidya Devi, Suman Sarogi and Aparna Devi

ACADEMIC SESSION III : 18 MARCH 2004 at 11.30 A.M.

Chairman : Professor Manabendu Banerjee

Vaishnav Philosophy and Gitagovinda	:	Professor Satyabati Giri
Gitagovinda and Khythm of Language	:	Professor Biswanath Roy
Gitagovinda and Rabindranath	:	Professor Pompa Majumder Assisted by Subhashis Bhattacharyya
The influence of Gitagovinda on Kirtan Songs	:	Guru Brajarakhal Das Assisted by Poulami Chatterjee

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ACADEMIC SESSION IV : 2.15 P.M.

Chairman : Professor Satyaranjan Banerjee

Gitagovinda and correspondences with ancient Greek 'MOUSIKE':		Dr. Faidros Kavallaris (Cyprus)
National Integration and Gitagovinda	:	Dr. Utpal Kumar Banerjee
Gitagovinda in Kathak Dance and the Songs of Northern India	:	Dr. Abhijit Roy Assisted by Biswajit Ghosh, Debesh Ghosh, Shilpi Sarkar, Madhumita Chakrabarti, Sumana Mitra and Manimala Roy
Gitagovinda and Different Dance forms of Eastern and North Eastern India	:	Dr. Sruti Banerjee Assisted by Soma Dutta and Debangana Chakrabarti
The Influence of Gitagovinda on Gaudiya Dance and Miniature Paintings of India	:	Dr. Mahua Mukherjee Assisted by Amitava Mukherjee, Sudeshna Majumdar, Dipak Patra, Subhodip Chakraborti, Banani Chakraborti, Debashis Sarkar, Ayan Mukherjee, Sumit Pramanik Ruchira Chakraborti and Satabdi Banerjee

Valedictory Session : 5-00 P.M.

Chairman : **Professor Amalendu De**

Valedictory Address : **Professor Karunasindhu Das**

Vote of Thanks : **Professor Surja Sankar Roy**

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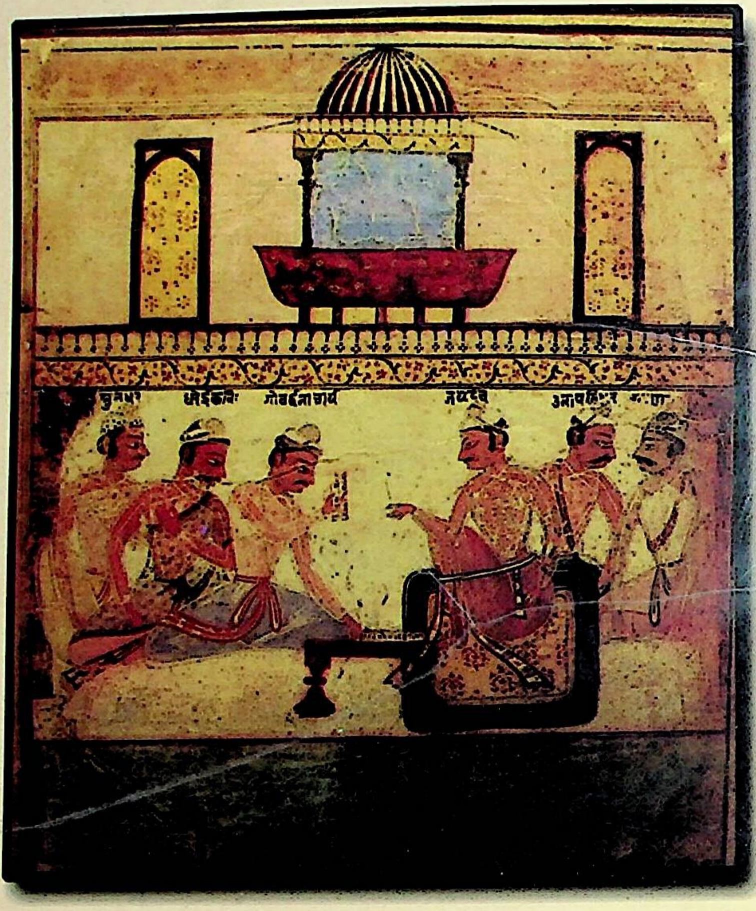
GITAGOVINDA AND INDIAN CULTURE



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